1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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the matter, accept willingly the worship of Jayaprana, thus acting as they would in regard to every village festival, at the same time feeling that this festival cycle answers completely a need which they have felt since the war. For instance, Jayaprana sanctioned the *joged* in its most rude, primitive form, a form which, however, corresponds excellently with the passions which the spirit of the resistance has awakened in the youth. Jayaprana brought about an enormous festival in which the atmosphere of any number of folk tales was made a reality. People shook off the disagreeable things of difficult modern times and felt completely at home, near to each other and near to the divine: the earth exceeded its bounds and became heaven. Jayaprana drew all divine power to himself, dominated all thought, and showed himself to be extremely jealous, but also blessed all who venerated him, helped the sick and the tradespeople, and spread his favour over the whole of Bali. It is no great cause for surprise when such a folk hero appears as a *batara*.

There is, however, also a group of people who have detected a new perspective and are developing it. The members of this group grew up during the Japanese occupation and the ensuing struggle for freedom against the Japanese, and later the Dutch, armies. As early as the Japanese period, however, they had more or less turned against their own traditional forms of government, and they say: 'Jayaprana, he is we ourselves. Formerly the ruler was worshipped, but now is the time for *kĕmĕrdekaan*, for freedom; the homage is now for the people.' Hence it was suggested that 17 August, the anniversary of the declaration of independence in 1945, could now be celebrated openly on Bali, thanks to Jayaprana. (Permission for celebration of the day happened to be given by the government of the federal state of East Indonesia precisely during the festival at Kaliangĕt.) For this group the festival was the festival of national heroes.

This is not to say that this religious nationalism is already moving in a definite direction. Traditional beliefs have changed into the most modern pagandom, at least within a certain group, but it is by no means fixed. It will still be able to be exploited as much by

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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a rajah as by a Communist leader, provided use is made of a knowledge of present-day psychological conditions. As early as during the war the young men learnt how to use the trance for their own struggle and 'besought' *pĕdandas* to bless their arms.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the history of Jayaprana was agreed upon in the most incalculable manner by means of trances in the old-fashioned style. Pronouncements were accepted unconditionally, the more so because the persons in trance were strangers who could not be suspected, even when they were not in a trance, of riding particular hobby-horses. Kaliangĕt threw itself with complete abandon into the adventure.[27]

Great influence must be attributed to the *mĕkĕle*. This woman, at the outset unknown in Kaliangĕt, became the principal personage. She did not take part in the usual trance form; she was, however, continually in a state of mild trance. Her word was law and her authority held everywhere. When she felt that Jayaprana was fatigued by all the worship, devotions in the chapel were suspended and the *gamĕlan* was obliged to be silent. When water was drawn from the spring and it appeared that she had not come along, the procession stopped and returned first to fetch her.

During the peak periods she was constantly to be found in the corpse chapel, where she blessed the offerings and the praying crowds. People quickly ascribed curative powers to her, and later she was always included in any number of ceremonies. Even after the festival people went to her house to visit her with requests for medicines and help.

The remarkable thing is that the *mĕkĕle* herself, even during the festival, continued to feel uncertain inwardly, and that she expressed criticism of the fact that the visitors spent thousands of guilders on offerings which would be spoilt by the time they returned home with them after their journey:

> The gods cannot approve of this; in the first place many people are going hungry, and in the second, it often smells already when it is offered to the gods. There are many people who incur debts in order to come here, and that should not be allowed.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 196
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By means of trance the revolutionary youths, the *pĕmudas*, succeeded in convincing the villagers that the deer was a messenger from Pulaki. The animal was shut up in a shed and served to communicate the wishes of the *pĕmudas* to the *desa* and the neighbourhood. A large-scale movement of nationalism-tinged-with-worship came into being, putting the demand of an absolute surrender to the *batara* and hostility towards those who did not believe. In the course of time, however, the people were left with the deer on their hands; it was released, and the movement dwindled away.

On 28 April, 1946, an anti-resistance movement was formed in Sangsit under the auspices of the Dutch army. It was thought that it would be a step in the right direction for the *desa* itself to offer resistance to the terrorist movement. A certain Nĕngah Meder, who for one reason or another was in the bad graces of the *pĕmudas*, organized a *desa* guard and sought help from the Dutch army. But he clothed his movement entirely in religious garb, giving himself out as a *pĕndita* and frequently going into a trance, and in this way was able to convince the people for miles around of his sanctity. He taught that the gods of Gunung Agung had concentrated at Sangsit. As a result whosoever believed became invulnerable. His followers wore a white band on their heads, and there was a special greeting. The movement came to an end when Meder, with a part of his family, was murdered by the *pĕmudas*.

A characteristic of these movements is that each of them found a large following, that different phenomena were explained by the trance, and that an unconditional surrender to the new situation was demanded, but on the other hand that there was nevertheless in each case an endeavour to incorporate the whole fabric of beliefs of the *desa* in the new faith. After the war there arose a distinct tendency to link nationalism to religion. Another characteristic is that after a time each movement came to a total dead-end.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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133 361 the mountain, rebuilt their village high up on the rim of the outer crater, renamed it Kububatur, and will probably remain there until again driven away by the anger of the volcano.

773 823 According to legend, Bali was originally a flat, barren island. When Java fell to the Mohammedans, the disgusted Hindu gods decided to move to Bali, but it became necessary for them to build dwelling-places high enough for their exalted rank. So they created the mountains, one for each of the cardinal points. The highest, Gunung Agung, was erected at the east, the place of honour; the Batur at the north; the Batukau at the west; and since there had to be one for the south, the raised tableland (Tafelhoek) of Bukit Petjatu became the seat of the patron of the south.[1] The Batur is venerated in its neighbourhood, and 778 823 the Batukau is holy to the villages on its slopes, but it is the Gunung Agung, Bali's highest mountain (10,560 feet) that is most sacred to the whole of the island. Half-way up the mountain is the mother temple for all Bali, the great Besakih with its impressive stone gate and its hundreds of towers thatched with sugar-palm fibre. The Gunung Agung is regarded as the Navel (*puséh*) of the World. It is to the Balinese what Kailasa and Meru are to the Hindus of India. As Mahameru it is the Cosmic Mountain, the Father of All Humanity.

186 772 To the Balinese, Bali is the entire world. Knowledge of the other nations of which they are conscious – China, Java, and Europe – does not influence their belief in the least. They are simply other worlds that have no relation to their own conception of the earth. There is an old manuscript which gives a description of the structure of the world. Although not very highly regarded by scholars, it gives us the popular Balinese conception of the cosmos, especially as it justifies their faith that Bali is the world. The following are excerpts from a free translation:

539 772 "At the bottom of everything there is magnetic iron, but in

[1] In other versions, the mountains from East Java were moved to Bali. In the *Tjatur Yoga* it is recorded that the Gunung Agung went to the center, the Batur to the north, Mount Rentjani (the peak of Lombok) to the east, Tafelhoek to the south, and Batukau to the west.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even pedandas, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the swarga, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

Macspahit, as the corruption has it. Balinese trace their ancestry to Madjaphit as Americans do to the Pilgrim Fathers. Thousands of temples have shrines named Madjapahit, usually ornamented with the carved head of a deer. Perhaps 90 per cent of the Balinese who give offerings at these temples do not know what the name stands for in historical fact.

14th century to 1906. This was a period of little interchange between Java, a Mohammedanized country, and Bali, which remained Hinduistic. Some trade relations were maintained, chiefly through the intermediacy of the Chinese. All currency in Bali was Chinese cash. Bali, a rich rice producing country, traded its surplus rice to the Chinese for gold, which was in turn beaten up to make golden flowers for the headdresses of children and gold leaf ornamentation for orchestral instruments and ceremonial objects. The "culture system" by which the colonials attempted to modify the agricultural output of Java was not introduced in Bali. With the exception of a small Dutch garrison maintained in the north of the island, Bali was free of European influence, virtually unsubjugated.

1906 *to* 1908. The Dutch, making an incident of the looting of a Chinese vessel which was wrecked on the south shore, landed troops in order to bring the island under control. It was at this time that the famous encounter took place, in which a number of the nobility and their followers marched out in the face of Dutch guns and committed mass suicide, turning their sacred krisses upon themselves. Of the seven ruling kings in Bali, two who resisted were deposed, but close relatives of theirs were installed as regents, so that the continuity of the hereditary ruling line in the several kingdoms was not broken. *Radjas* who capitulated retained their rank, also with the status of regents. Indirect rule was set up, the Dutch official rule linking the island with the administrative center at Batavia, Java.

1908 *to* 1942. Though Bali was now a part of the Netherlands Indies' *Binnenland Bestuur* (Interior Administration), the feeling between Java and Bali continued rather distant. Balinese tended even towards the end of this period, in the 1930's, to look upon Javanese with suspicion. Probably the greatest chasm between these neighboring peoples was the difference in food habits laid down in the differing religions. The Javanese did not eat pig, a favorite Balinese food and one of the chief export products. Dutch ships carrying Balinese pigs

[1] Belo, 1936, p. 12.